2: Indiana U. S-4, 5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

000

Subcontract No. HRAF-2 Ind-1: Votes

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

000

SUBCONTRACTOR'S MONOGRAPH

HRAF-11 Indiana-43

THE VOTES

PRINTED BY

HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES, INC.
Box 2054 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut

In Fulfillment of Performance Requirement
HRAF Subcontract HRAF-2 Ind-1

 [p. ii is blank]

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

000

SUBCONTRACTOR'S MONOGRAPH

ON

THE VOTES

Prepared by the members of the faculty and staff of Indiana University's Graduate Program in Uralic and Oriental Studies.

Author

Felix J. Oinas

~~Cartographer~~

John Ray

Editor

Ruth C. Heffner

Principal Investigator

Thomas A. Sebeok

-v- [p. iv is blank]

2:Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

PREFACE

000 This is one of a series of monographs produced under HRAF Subcontracts. The Indiana University Subcontracts were awarded to provide primarily ethnographic coverage of the Uralic peoples. This monograph has not been edited or evaluated by HRAF. The views and opinions expressed are those of the authors.

It is reproduced as a service to the scholarly community and as a working paper for the Washington branch of HRAF (WAHRAF).

The monograph was annotated according to the system of categories in the Outline of Cultural Materials and was printed for simultaneous inclusion in the Area Files.

George P. Springer
HRAF Research Associate
For Soviet Orbit

Milton D. Graham
HRAF Research Coordinator

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

ooo This is Subcontractor's Monograph HRAF-11 Indiana-43 produced for the Human Relations Area Files, Inc. under Subcontract HRAF-2 Ind-1.

Other Subcontractor's Monographs reproduced in this series are:

HRAF-2 Indiana-4.....Finland
HRAF-4 Indiana-8.....The Estonians

INTRODUCTION

000 1. This series of monographs was prepared under contract HRAF-2 Indiana-1 by members of the faculty and staff of Indiana University's Graduate Program in Uralic and Oriental Studies, and under the auspices of the Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics. The undersigned, Chairman of the Program and of the Research Center, served as Principal Investigator. Ruth C. Heffner co-ordinated the project and was its general Editor. Other participants included, on the research staff -- Victor E. Hanzeli, Ken Ishimoto, Igor Kopytoff (Northwestern University), Nicholas Mihailoff-Shelly, Eeva Kangasmaa Minn, Felix J. Oinas, Alo Raun, Linda Raun, and Joseph Strmecki; and as cartographers -- Joan Harris, Robert Mayfield, and John Ray. The author or authors chiefly responsible for each handbook are indicated on the title page of each particular monograph.

128 2. The contract required that a topical format ("Annex A") be followed, wherever applicable. This requirement was, naturally, complied with, even though, from a purely scholarly point of view, a sharply different arrangement of the data, and of their interpretation, would have been more desirable.

3. The staff feel that the severe limitations of time and the inaccessibility of certain important resources resulted in a product which could be considerably bettered, given a more

128 leisurely approach. The staff, of course, appreciate the circumstances which necessitated rapid completion of their monographs, but urge that these handbooks be revised and expanded at an early opportunity, as well as kept up to date, to insure both comprehensive coverage and the availability of information that is always timely and accurate.

4. Because of the pressure of time and the fact that the members of the research team are not native speakers of the English language, some of the manuscripts, despite editing, lack stylistic polish; occasional lapses from the idiomatic will, it is hoped, be eliminated from future versions. In no case do these faults obscure the meaning or distort the substance of the information.

000 5. The scholarly stimulation afforded by the researches undertaken for this project was not materially lessened by the obligation upon the staff to respond to the stringently specific requirements of the contract. While the peoples and languages of the Uralic group have been under continuous investigation at Indiana University for the past twelve years, work by our team on these monographs doubtless tended to enhance further the development of this field at this member institution of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., whose assistance in providing this splendid opportunity is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Thomas A. Sebeok
July 1955

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ooo Annex "A" - Basic Background Information.

1. Sociological.

a. General Character of the Society..Page 1
b. Historical Setting.....Page 4
c. Size and Geographical Distribution of Population...Page 12
e. Languages.....Page 18
g. Family.....Page 22
h. Social Values and Patterns of Living.....Page 25
i. Artistic and Intellectual Expression.....Page 34
j. Education.....Page 36
k. Religion.....Page 38

p. Health and Sanitation.....Page 48

3. Economic.

a. Agricultural Potential.....Page 50

Maps

Votic Villages.....Page 52

Annex "A", Subparagraph 1a,

Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

181 The little group of Votes who have survived so far are primarily small farmers. Living since the beginning of this millenium in the Russian neighborhood and under Russian rule (except during one century of Swedish rule), they have taken over from the Russians their patterns of social life. But they have resisted complete Russification chiefly because the one-sided Russian influence has been counterbalanced by the Balto-Finnic influence of the Ingrians and Finns.

One of the most important influences on the Votes is, or has been at least until the Bolshevist regime, their religion. The Russian Orthodox Church with its lyrical mysticism has completely won them over. The Church has determined their world conception, their sympathies and antipathies and their attitude toward their
186 mother tongue. The Votes treat those of a
177 different religion like complete strangers. But
101 they almost identify themselves with the nationalities (Russians and Ingrians) who have the same religion as they have. Since the language of the religion is Russian, they do not seem to regret giving up Votic in favor of Russian.

The predominance of religion in the Votes' world conception has caused confusion in their notions of nationalities. Often the notions of "Greek Catholic" and "Russian" are considered identical. To the question "Are you a Greek

186 Catholic?" they answer "Yes, of course,
177 Russian."
101

They do not consider themselves a special nationality. While some of them call themselves Russian, others again call themselves Ingrian. The Votic girls sing of themselves in Russian: "All the Ingrian girls are beautiful." When filling out questionaires, the Votes used to write as their nationality either "Ingrian" or "Russian." On the whole, it must be stated that they have a strong bent for assimilation with other nationalities. Tsvetkov, a student of the Votic nationality, illustrates this with the following example (p. 43): "A young Ingrian is brought as the wife into a Votic home where Votic is still spoken. And what happens? All the members of the family, even the old, begin to talk Ingrian, and so Ingrian in many households replaces Votic. It is characteristic for a Vote that when speaking with an Ingrian who knows Votic, he willingly starts talking Ingrian."

Due to the loss of their national consciousness, the Votes have lost almost all their national culture, and their specific national features, their national "complexion." Their folklore, customs and national dress have been taken over from their neighbors. The only thing that entitles us still to call them "Votes" is their language. But even this is developing fast toward complete Russification and Ingrianization.

SOURCES

//3 Tsvetkov, Dim.

1925. Vadjalased. [The Votes.] Eesti Keel, Vol. 4, pp. 39-44. Tartu: Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,

Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

101 The votes call themselves vad'd'alain (plural vad'd'alaizet). This name comes from the word vad'd'a 'wedge,' and originally probably designated the wedge-shaped area inhabited by the Votes. In Russian chronicles and old documents the Votes are usually called vod' (from this the adjectives vodskii, votskii) and vozhane, later also by the names chudja and voty. The older German designation for the Votes is Watländer, the later one Woten (plural). In English the names Votes and Vodians are used (the adjectives Votic or Vodian).

Votes are closely related to the Estonians, Finns, Karelians, Vepsians and Livonians. [197] The language of all of these nationalties form the so-called Balto-Finnic group, which is a subgroup of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. 101 The original home of the Finno-Ugric people is 174 considered to have been somewhere along the middle course of the Volga River. In the course of time, the forefathers of the Balto-Finns have moved westward. In the last centuries of the pre-Christian era they were in contact with the Baltic peoples (that is with the ancestors of the Latvians, Lithuanians and Old Prussians), and later with the Germanic peoples, as the loan words indicate. During these Germanic Balto-Finnic relations the Balto-Finns must have been to the east of the Gulf of Finland

101 and Peipus Lake. There this relatively
174 homogeneous group disintegrated and various nationalities started to migrate to their present areas. This occurred probably in the first centuries A.D.

The Votes, following the Finns, moved toward the north and settled the area which is now known under the name of Ingermanland. In ancient times the Votes were a powerful nation. They probably belonged to those Balto-Finnic tribes, which, according to Nestor's chronicle, participated under the name of chud' in the foundation of the Russian state in 862 A.D.
175 The first explicit information on the Votes originates from the time of the Grand Prince Jaroslav (died in 1054); in one of his statutes the Votic (votshkaia) region is mentioned as belonging to the Novgorod possessions. The belonging to Novgorod was at that time, however, only a pious wish of Novgorod. This appears clearly from the fact that the Votes helped the Polotsk prince Vseslav when he, with his armies, in 1069 lay siege to Novgorod. Vseslav suffered a defeat, and, according to the chronicler, "this was a great loss to the Votes, for great masses of them fell." When Novgorod in the twelfth century became stronger, the Votes more and more came under its sphere of influence. In cases of need the Votes applied to the Novgorodians also for help. This happened, for instance, in 1149 when a thousand Finns from Häme undertook a military expedition to the Votic area. Then the Votes, helped by 500 Novgorodians, hewed down the Finns to the very last man.

It was not just the wars but also the

175 famine which exterminated the Votes. In 1215 there was a complete crop failure, due to which many people died of hunger or moved elsewhere. The people were forced to eat fir bark, linden leaves and moss. There were so many dead on the market places, in the yards and fields, that--as the chronicler reports--"dogs were unable to eat all of them."

At the same time, Papal Rome began to direct its attention to the heathens of the Votic land (pagani watlandie). In the thirteenth century Pope Gregorius IX forbade all the Christians to send weapons and iron to the Votes so that they could preserve their Christian faith in the countries around Sweden. In 1255 "the heathens of the Votic land, of Ingermanland and Karelia" got their own bishop, after Pope Alexander IV had been informed that they were eager to be converted to Christianity. The chronicles do not tell to what extent the Roman Catholic Church succeeded in christening the Votes. At any rate, their Christendom remained for centuries only an external manifestation.

The geographic position of the Votes was a most unlucky one. Situated between strong and bellicose powers, such as the Russians, the Swedes, and the Germans, their land was often the theater of devastating wars. The Votes themselves call their land kyvassi syittu maa 'the land which has been stamped hard by wars.'

In 1240 the German knights together with the Estonians attacked the Votes and founded the Kaprio (Russian Kopor'ye) fortress as their base, which, however, was retaken by the Novgorod Prince Alexander Nevski in 1242.

175 Although the German knights continued to lay claims to the Votic land, it remained under Novgorod power until the end of the fifteenth century. As subjects of Novgorod, the Votes had to participate in the numerous wars Novgorod had to wage. Most noteworthy among them was the warfare made by the German knight von Overberg in the Votic land and Ingermanland in 1444-1447. At that time a group of Votes were taken as prisoners of war to Kurland (nowadays part of Latvia), to the neighborhood of the Aa River near the town of Bauske. The Latvians used to call these Votes [101] Krevins, due to the fact that they were brought from Russia (in Latvian kreews means 'Russian'). The Krevins were Latvianized in the middle of the nineteenth century; only a few texts of their language were written down and have been preserved.

After Moscow subdued Novgorod in 1478 and took its possessions, an extensive administrative unit to the northwest of Novgorod city, between the rivers Volkhov and Luga, was given the name "Votic Fifth" (Votskaia piatina). At one time it even comprised a part of Finnish Karelia as far as to the north of Pielisjärvi. The term "Votic Fifth" indicates that at that time the Votes were of much greater significance as a nation than they are nowadays. In the sixteenth century the term "Votic oblast" (Votskaia oblast') was introduced which signified, first of all, the western part of the later Petersburg government; the area to the east of it was called "the Izhor land" (Izhorskaia zemlia).

The subjugation of Novgorod by the Muscovites did not much affect the condition of the Votes, except that their masters were

175 changed. Novgorod squires were replaced by Muscovian noblemen. Ivan the Third, Grand Prince of Muscovy, dispersed the most notable Novgorod noblemen, merchants and other burghers by the thousands into various parts of Russia and brought the Muscovites in to replace them.

In the sixteenth century the Russian Church began to take a lively interest in the conversion of the Votes. In 1534 the Novgorod Archbishop Makarii complained to the Grand Prince of Moscow that the inhabitants of the "Votic Fifth" as well as of some western and northern areas lived in dark heathenism, "worshipping in their sacrificial places the forests, stones, rivers, bogs, springs, mountains, hills, the sun, stars and lakes, and offering to evil spirits secret blood sacrifices of children, throwing into the flames the holy images of saints and seeking in every way to propitiate the devel." Then Makarii, on the order of the Grand Prince, sent there the monk Ilja to root out the idolatry and to baptize these heathens.

The year 1617 was an important turning point in the history of the Votes: then, according to the Stolbova peace treaty, the whole of Ingermanland came under Swedish rule which lasted for a century. The economic as well as the educational situation of the peoples of Ingermanland, the Votes included, improved considerably. However, when Gustavus Adolphus began to convert them forcibly to Protestantism, many of the Votes and other nationalities left for Russia where they later became Russified. The desolate areas in Ingermanland were settled by Finns who were brought there from eastern Finland. Thus, the national

175 composition of Ingermanland was changed completely during this period.

When Ingermanland after the great Northern War in 1721 was incorporated into Russia, more peaceful times began for the Votes. But by then the century-long wars, epidemics, famines and long servitude had greatly undermined their vital power. The following years in close proximity to the Russians, mixed marriages, and Russification policy of czarist Russia, and finally the miseries of the first and second world wars and of the Bolshevist rule still further decreased their number. When the author of this report visited the Votes in 1943, only poor remnants of this once notable people had remained. In 1944 there were rumors in Estonia that the Germans, when they retreated from Ingermanland, had put all the Votes into a train and sent them somewhere toward the south. It has been impossible, however, to prove the validity of these rumors.

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

SOURCES

113 Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Second Edition

1951. Vodskaia piatina. [The Votic Fifth] Vol. 8, p. 393.

Manninen, I.

1929. Vatjalaiset ja inkeroiset. [The Votes and the Ingrians.] Suomensukuiset kansat [The Finno-Ugric Peoples], pp. 90-92. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Setälä, E. N.

1926. Suomensukuisten kansojen esihistoria. [Prehistory of the Finno-Ugric Peoples.] In A. Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius, Yrjö Wichmann, ed., Suomen Suku [The Finno-Ugric Family], Vol. 1, pp. 120-186. Helsinki: Otava.

Wichmann, Yrjö

1928. Vatjalaiset. [The Votes.] In A. Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius, and Yrjö Wichmann, ed., Suomen Suku [The Finno-Ugric Family], Vol. 2, pp. 112, 115-121. Helsinki: Otava.

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

//3 Zsirai, Miklós

1937. A vótok. [The Votes.] Finnugor rokonságunk [Our Finno-Ugric Relatives], pp. 433-436. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1c,

Sociological Background

SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

161 131 341 Area inhabited by the Votes. According to the latest data (Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia) the number of Votes is considered to be not more than 600 or 700. They live in the northwestern part of Ingermanland in the Kattila (Russian Kotly), Kaprio (Russian Kopor'ye) and Kosemkina rayons. In 1943, they lived in the following villages: a) (in Kattila rayon:) Baabina (Jarvakaiskylä), Kattila, Korvettula, Ylä-Luzhitsa, Mati, Pihlaala, Pontilova, Pummala, Raanala (Lempola), Pseurudja, Sauvokkala; b) (in Kaprio rayon:) Ikäpäivä; c) (in Kosemkina rayon:) Joenperä, Liiva, and Kukkosi (Russian Kurovitsy).

161 Population trends. The Votes are nowadays the smallest Balto-Finnic nation. In former times their number as well as their area was much larger than it is now. Even in 1848 there were, according to P. Köppen, altogether 5148 Votes who lived in 32 villages. In an official announcement of 1862 their number was said to be 4500. In the Russian census of 1897 the Votes are not mentioned at all. They are probably included in those 288 "Chuds" who are said to live in the Jam and Petergof districts in the Petersburg government, while the majority of them were probably included in the Finns in Russia or maybe in the Russians. Prof. Kettunen, who

161 visited the Votes before and during the first World War (1913-15), estimates their population to be around 1000. The same is also Prof. Setälä's estimation. The Russian census in 1926 lists only 705 Votes. Lensu, who collected linguistic and folkloristic material among the Votes in 1927-28, estimates their number to be a little more than 500.

177 There is no doubt that the great decrease in the Votes is due to their assimilation with other nationalities of Ingermanland, namely with Russians, Ingrians and Finns. The Finns who live in several Votic villages have constituted the least danger for the Votes' denationalization, mainly due to their religion. Being of a different religion (the Finns are Lutherans and the Votes Greek Orthodox), the inter-marriages as well as any close association between them were, especially in former times, rare. The nearness of the Russians and Ingrians, who are both of the same religion as the Votes, has, however, been fatal to the Votes.

[175] The first considerable Russian settlement in the "Votic Fifth" arose at the end of the fifteenth century. This colonization policy was continued until the Swedish conquest in 1617, when it ceased for a century. During the time of Peter the Great and his successors it was taken up again and pursued even more vigorously than before. The result of this policy was the creation of Votic-Russian mixed villages everywhere in the Votic area, except in the westernmost part. Since the number of Russians constantly increased in these villages, the Votes began to speak Russian, to take over Russian customs, habits

177 and their way of life and, in the long run, they became Russians. This Russification process was furthered by mixed marriages, Russian schools and, as mentioned before, by the common Greek Orthodox creed which brought
361 them close to each other. The Russians, like
177 weeds, overgrew and suffocated the Votic villages. This process appears clearly on the appended map which shows the fate of the Votic villages in the course of the last century. The villages marked in the accompanying map with small dots are those found by Köppen in 1848 to be Votic, but which were Russified by 1913-15 when Prof. Kettunen visited them. It appears that the Russification during a 60-year period has disinte-
197 grated many Votic villages. In the villages
177 underlined in the same map, Votic was still spoken at the time of Kettunen's visit. As Kettunen has noticed, Votic was almost exclusively spoken by older people, often side by side with Russian. In the easternmost villages, except for Ikäpäivä, Votic was spoken only by a few dozen people. The use of Votic among the children was in the whole area extremely rare (Kettunen heard it, for instance, in Korvettula). The villages in parentheses are those which a group of scholars of Tartu University (the author of this report included) were found to be Russianized in 1943. Such were the easternmost villages and Kerstova to the extreme south. In the whole Votic area there were no young people to be found who spoke Votic, and even among the older people it was not easy to find those who spoke it well. Votic was best preserved in the central group--in Kattila, Mati, Korvettula
177 and Sauvokkala villages. There will be hardly any doubt that the complete Russification of

177 the Votes will occur in the very near future.

It is possible that the denationalization of the Votes described so far can be partly ascribed to the part played by the Ingrians. The Ingrians, on the whole, appear in greater number in the westernmost Votic villages, so that their influence is especially to be sought there. The "Ingrianization" of Votes has gone farthest in Kukkosi village. Tsvetkov, a Vote [101] himself, tells that the Votes often do not make [186] a distinction between the Ingrians and themselves, but often call themselves "Ingrians." It is possible that the westernmost Votic village will become first Ingrian and only after that will undergo the second metamorphosis--the Russianization.

186 177 Kettunen has tried to explain the inclination of the Votes for denationalization. He summarizes it as follows: "The Votes were broken in their spirit upon learning that their neighbors, the Russians, Finns, and Estonians, have books written in their mother tongue and that they have their own schools, while only they, the Votes, have nothing. Such a language is not even worth while to be taught to the children. The Russian Church, on the other hand, has tried to nourish the view that the Votes, just like Orthodox Ingrians, actually belong to the Russians, for they have the same right creed as the Russians have." [1]

---

1 See Zsirai: 435.

SOURCES

//3 Ahtia, E. V., Itkonen, T. I., et al.

1920. Suomen suvun tilastoa. [Statistics on Finno-Ugric Peoples.] In A. Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius, Yrjö Wichmann, ed., Suku, Vol. 1, p. 97. Helsinki: Otava.

Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Second Edition

1951. Vodskii iazyk. [The Votic Language.] Vol. 8, p. 393.

Kettunen, Lauri

1930. Vatjan kielen äännehistoria. [Phonology of the Votic Language.], 2nd ed. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Pp. 4-5.

Mustonen, Juuso

1931. Inkerin suomalaiset seurakunnat. [The Finnish Townships of Inkeri.] Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Pp. 59, 62, 64.

Rank, Gustav

1947-48. Vatjalainen koti. [The Votic House.] Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja, Vol. 27-28, p. 129.

113 Tsvetkov, Dim.

1925. Vadjalased. [The Votes.] Eesti Keel, Vol. IV, pp. 39-44.

Wichmann, Yrjö

1928. Vatjalaiset. [The Votes.] In A. Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius and Yrjö Wichmann, ed., Suomen Suku, Vol. 2, pp. 112-113. Helinski: Otava.

Zsirai, Miklós

1937. A vótok. [The Votes.] Finnugor rokonságunk [Our Finno-Ugric Relatives], pp. 433-435. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1e,

Sociological Background

LANGUAGES

197 Knowledge of foreign languages. The Votes know, in addition to their mother tongue, also the languages of their neighbors, namely Russian, Ingrian, and Finnish. The knowledge of Russian is very general among them. This is due to several factors, such as close contact between these peoples, the Russian schools, mixed marriages, service in the Russian army, etc. Especially the younger generation knows Russian well. The knowledge of Ingrian and Finnish is also widespread. Both of these languages are so close to Votic that the Votes learn them easily.

The Votic dialects have been divided into two groups: West and East Votic. East Votic is spoken only in one village, Ikäpäivä.[1] In all the remaining villages West Votic is spoken.

The dialect differences between East and West Votic are very slight and refer mainly to phonemics. Below will be pointed out a few such differences. In East Votic the final k and h have been preserved (k as G), whereas in West Votic they have disappeared: East kazyG

---

[1] In 1915 East Votic was spoken in five easternmost villages: Koslova, Iivanais, Mahu, Lliimettina and Ikäpäivä, but the four first-mentioned villages were by the 1940's completely Russianized.

197 'due,' annaG 'give,' terveh 'healthy,' pereh 'family'; West kazy, anna, terve, pere. In East Votic all consonants have been geminated under certain conditions, but not in West Votic (except the Joenperä group): East kannaa 'of the hen,' ajjaa 'I am driving,' lehhoo 'of the leaf'; West kanaa, ajaa, lehoo. East Votic does not change the stem consonants in different forms of the same word as much as West Votic does: East hahsi 'child,' lahsyD 'children'; West lahsi, lahzyD.

In West Votic a few subgroups can be distinguished, of which the most noteworthy are the dialects of Joenperä and Liiva villages on the one hand, and the dialect of Kukkosi village on the other hand. The latter dialect represents a mixture of Votic and Ingrian.

The Russian has had a deep influence on the Votic language which appears especially in the word stock. In phonetics the Russian influence is less noticeable than one would expect, considering the bilingualism of the Votes. Apparently the Russian influence has been counteracted by the influence of the closely related languages of Votic, namely Ingrian and Finnish.

In order to give an idea to what extent the Votic word stock is Russianized, we will cite a short passage of an old man's speech in the village meeting, although its Russianness seems to be somewhat exaggerated. The man has been appointed for some community work and he protests (the Russian words are underlined): "Mil kse on aika menne kanavy kopat', kogda kotonn zhrat' nechego. Na proshloi nedele vass mahzim piatnadtsat' roublei veroa, de jo taas

197 trebuiut. Nepremenno piäb na zarabotki otpravit'sia, a too müüvvä viimin lehm' lautess. Em mene, vot moi skaz, khot' kol na golove teshite." ['How do I have time to go dig ditches, when I do not have anything at home for eating? Only last week I paid fifteen rubles, and now they are demanding again. I must surely go to work to earn money, otherwise I have to sell the last cow from the shed. I do not go, that's my word, do whatever you want.'] (Tsvetkov, p. 44.)

SOURCES

113 Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, Second Edition

1951. Vodskii iazyk. [The Votic Language.] Vol. 8, p. 393.

Kettunen, Lauri

1930. Vatjan kielen äännehistoria. [Phonology of the Votic Language.] 2nd ed. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Pp. 5-7, 170-173.

Tsvetkov, Dim.

1925. Vadjalased. [The Votes.] Eesti Keel, Vol. 4, p. 44. Tartu: Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts.

Annex "A" Subparagraph 1g,

Sociological Background

FAMILY

591 In former times the Votic families were much bigger than they are now. The sons usually remained in their father's house, brought their wives there and brought up their families. For this reason, the living rooms were then much bigger than now, each of them accommodating around 20 to 25 persons. Now the families are small, for the single nuclear family is the rule, and children after marriage now leave their parents' house and form their own separate households.

[594] The man is the head of the Votic family, but he does not act always as he pleases. In more important decisions the opinions of the wife and of the grown-up children are also 562 taken into consideration. In former times, the 596 position of the wife in the family seems to 594 have been considerably lower than it is today. Characteristic are the words said by the bride's mother to her future son-in-law while handing over to him the bride's hair after it is cut: "Take both her hair and her head; you 562 are her master and she is your slave." Im- 264 portant in this respect is also the hierarchy 596 commonly used at the eating table. Oral 594 tradition tells us that in olden times the table was the privileged eating place for the men. The women could take their meals around the fireplace or elsewhere, but the men always used to sit at the table. Even if the men and women ate at the same table, they did not eat

562 264 596 594 at the same time: the men ate first and the women afterwards. When the families in earlier times were very large, the eating was arranged in three shifts: first the men sat at the table, then the women, and finally the children. There are also some data which indicate that formerly the children were not admitted at all to the table but had to eat on the floor from a common wooden dish (naappa). For them a special tablecloth (ursi) was spread on the floor.

In later times when families became smaller, both the men and women used to sit at the same table. But even then the sexes were segregated. The men, in general, sat at the side of the table which was towards the rear corner of the room, and the women opposite them. Due to this custom, the parts of the table have special names which are used even today. The rear part is called starika-lauta 'old man's table' and the front part ämmä-lauta 'woman's table.' They also say that the men sit jumalapoolez 'at God's side,' and the women sit alanurkkaz 'at the lower side.' The same custom of dividing the table according to sexes was observed also by the Ingrians.

Nowadays no such segregation is made and anyone can sit where he wishes.

SOURCES

113

O [jansuu], H[eikki]

1906. Henrik Gabriel Porthanin vatjalaisharrastukset. [H. G. Porthan's Interests in the Votes.] Virittäjä, pp. 3-4.

Rãnk, Gustav

1947-48. Vatjalainen koti. [The Votic House.] Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja, Vol. 27-28, pp. 143, 150-152.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1h,

Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

342 Dwellings and housekeeping. The houses without chimneys which were generally used by the Votes in former times, have nowadays completely disappeared. The typical Votic dwelling house consists of two rooms which are separated from each other by a front hall. One door leads into the hall from the front side, and the other one opensto the cattle yard. There are some dwelling houses which consist of one living room and front hall, but they belong to the former small farmers.

251 The front hall functions as the pantry. Bowls with milk are there on the shelves and
352 other foodstuffs are kept in a big box. There are also round boxes for linens and cupboards for clothes. In former times there was in the front hall a bed furnished with a special cover above it as protection against fleas and gnats, but now only the cover has been preserved in some of the older houses.

354 The Votic living rooms have big white
[353] stoves, paper-covered walls and light or ornamented bedcovers, and they seem quite up-to-date. The typical ancient stoves, built on a wooden base and furnished with a thick wooden corner-pillar, have completely gone out of use.
352 The wall benches, however, have been almost generally preserved.

342 One of the living rooms is used for
574 everyday purposes. The other is kept clean and

342 used mainly as the sleeping room of the grown-
574 up children or the young married couple, if they are staying with the parents. Also, the guests on their first visit are invited to stay in this room. Since the people seldom go to this room, its floor is exemplarily clean. Often it is covered with a home-woven rug.

356 Cleaning the rooms and keeping them in order has almost a ritual significance for the Votes. The floors and the wall benches were formerly scrubbed every Saturday. But before great holidays, especially before Easter, the cleaning was extended also to the walls and even the ceilings. Therefore the walls of the Votic rooms, even though they were not white-washed or covered with wallpaper, were amazingly clean. In addition to the washing and scrubbing, the old people remember another special method for cleaning which was employed before festivals and weddings. This was the scraping of the walls. The walls of the rooms which had no stove were first swept clean of soot and then scraped still whiter with a special iron tool or with big knives. For Christmas, Easter and other great holidays and for weddings, the floors were covered with
[764] straw. When there was a corpse in the house, fir branches were strewn on the floors.

584 Customs, superstitions. The Votic wedding customs in earlier times were considerably different from what they are today. Porthan tells that at the end of the eighteenth century the Votic boys did their wooing as they wished, without the knowledge of their or the
[582] girls' parents. The usual age for marriage was 15 years for the boys and 12-15 for the girls. The young people informed the priest of their

584 plans; the priest bethrothed them and then notified their parents. Oftentimes the latter disliked the marriage, sometimes to such degree that they were at loggerheads with the young people but the priest usually managed finally to reconcile them. Then the bride's mother grasped the bride's hair, while the bridegroom cut it with a knife. The bride's mother handed the hair over to the bridegroom, saying: "Take her hair as well as her head, you are her
585 master and she is your slave." After the relatives were summoned, the bridal pair was sent to the Russian church to wed. When they came home, the bridegroom's sister or some other woman relative received the bride, led her into the room and left her standing at the right side of the door, while she herself stood at the left side. The guests sat at the table, but the bride had to stand and curtsey all the time until the sun went down. Then the bride was led out by the same woman. If the bride was very tired and nearly fainting, then somebody supported her from the other side. She was led to the wedding bed in another room. The bridegroom, accompanied by three or four men, came and asked her whether there was space also for him in the bed. The woman answered in the negative, but after bargaining and haggling the bridegroom was, for a few rubles, permitted to go to bed. After an hour or two the young couple were called out of the room and then the dance began, accompanied by a bagpipe. Finally the young couple, both of them holding onto a plate on which there was a glass of vodka, offered vodka to the people; the people drank while lying on the floor and rewarded the couple with money. The wedding celebrations lasted for a couple of days. When the guests left, they presented the bride with shirts and hens, everyone according to his means.

000 hens, everyone according to his means.

584 In more recent years (at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries) the wooing and wedding customs of the Votes have completely changed. Young people usually get more closely acquainted with each other spending nights together. One pair or several pairs go to an outbuilding to converse and to sleep. A boy spends one night with one girl, the next with another girl, until he finally finds a suitable life companion for himself. This night-spending has certain limits, the crossing of which is considered completely improper. The girls shun a lad who is too aggressive and refuse [883] even to dance with him--a severe punishment in villages where the young people come together every night to dance and play. In some villages one of the young men is elected a kind of social leader; he decides who will spend the night with whom. His decisions must be followed by the boys from his own as well as from other villages.

When a young man has decided to marry and has received a girl's consent, he tells his parents and asks his uncle or godfather to make the official wooing. The latter goes to the girl's home and asks, in figurative language, to buy an apple tree. If the girl's parents agree, then the betrothal of the young people takes place on the following day. For this the girl summons her relatives, and the go-between brings vodka from the tavern. The most important ceremony at the betrothal is the giving of the kerchief: the bride takes a kerchief from a chest, gives it to her mother, who in turn gives it to the bridegroom for a ruble. The latter wipes his and his future mother-in-law's lips with it and kisses her. They they all drink and the bridegroom is

584 recognized by his in-laws as their relative. The village girls now begin clattering the plank used for closing the oven and chase the bridegroom out of the room. Then they go walking in the village, singing and clattering the plank so that everyone knows what is going on. Before the go-between leaves, a horse collar is thrown on his neck. He neighs like a horse, runs out of the front hall and throws the collar down. The bride sings a weeping song to her father, mother and relatives and finally to all the village people. After that everybody, except the bridegroom, goes home.

Some days later the youths of the village come to clean the wedding house. The boys clean the walls of soot and dirt, while the girls wash the floors.

585 On the morning of the wedding the mother wakes the bride with a weeping song. The bride, standing in front of the door and wearing a wreath made of paper flowers in her head, awaits the arrival of the bridegroom's party. Her sister throws herself on her neck and they together sing a weeping song. Then the bride three times puts her wreath on the head of her best girl friend, but each time it is given back. This is repeated with each girl who is there. When the bridegroom arrives, the bride's godfather takes a whip, icon and pillow and leads the bride to the wedding room. There the bridegroom's relatives have to put money into a wooden bowl, and only when there is enough of it are they allowed to sit down at the table. After the bride's mother has distributed her gifts to the relatives, they go to the church. On the next day they go to the house of the bridegroom where the young couple is received with special ceremonies. The bride's mother distributes here also presents, and the young wife sweeps the floor.

764 On Votes' burial customs we have a description by Porthan referring to the end of the eighteenth century. According to Porthan, the Votes buried their dead in the graveyard
765 in the forest. After the dead person was buried and the grave covered with a big stone, the people remained for about half an hour, singing special songs (loilotukset) and eating. When they finally went away, they left all the remaining food, such as pies, tarts, buckwheat bread and cabbage, and the drinks, such as beer, vodka and honey, to the priest. The mourning ceremony was repeated at the grave twice a year, on Whitsuntide and on the day preceding Michaelmas.

764 At the present time the burial occurs as follows: The corpse is placed on the floor on the straw and washed (this straw is later buried). Then it is lifted on a bench and the eyes are covered. Later it is placed into the coffin and taken to the church. After the priest has blessed the dead person, he is brought home again and then taken to the graveyard. At the end of the burial the people eat at the graveyard peas, eggs, etc. When they come home, they eat again.

527 Not only the weddings and burials, but many other events, memorable days, major agricultural works, etc., are observed with special customs and rites. Below, some of these customs, based on Prof. Rank's studies among the Votes in 1942-43, are briefly mentioned. The so-called hlaari-Day (August 31) was closely connected with the well-being of the horses. Formerly the horses were taken to the yard of the church where the priest sprinkled and blessed them. At home, a special

527 hlaari bread was baked and eaten, while a sheaf of oats was at the same time kept in the corner behind the end of the table. This sheaf was given afterwards to the horses. There were also certain rites observed at the beginning and finishing of the harvest. Both the first and last sheaves of rye were sometimes preserved and kept in the holy corner. Before cutting the last of the rye, a bread or pot with porridge was put between the straws in the field. This was believed to have a certain magical effect on the future yield.

342 When the building of a new house was started, a silver coin was put under the place where the holy corner was to be built. After the first beams were placed, a small banquet was arranged in the building. When the family moved into their new home, the eating-table and the icon were taken in first. This was usually followed by a bigger festival, to which the guests brought along bread and milk. On this occasion a big candle was lit in front of the icon.

SOURCES

113 Alava, V.

1908. Vatjalaisia häätapoja, häälauluja ja - itkuja. [Votic Wedding Customs, Wedding Songs and Dirges.] Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Pp. 3-43, 57-62.

Itkonen, T. I.

1921. Vatjalaiset. [The Votes.] Suomensukuiset kansat [The Finno-Ugric Peoples], pp. 59-64. Helsinki: Tietosanakirja-Osakeyhtiö.

Kettunen, Lauri, and Lauri Posti

1932. Näytteitä vatjan kielesta. [Texts of the Votic Language.] Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Vol. 63. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. Pp. 115-116.

Manninen, I.

1929. Vatjalaiset ja inkeroiset. [The Votes and the Ingrians.] Suomensukuiset kansat [The Finno-Ugric Peoples], pp. 95-96. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

O[jansuu], H[eikki]

1906. Henrik Gabriel Porthanin vatjalaisharrastukset. [H. G. Porthan's Interests towards the Votes.] Virittäjä, pp. 3-4. Helsinki.

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4 Votes

113 Ränk, Gustav

1948. Mõned tähelepanekud vadja lõikusriitustest. [Some Observations on the Harvest Rites of the Votes.] Virittäjä, pp. 147-150. Helsinki.

Ränk, Gustav

1947-48. Vatjalainen koti. [The Votic House.] Kalevalaseuran Vuosikirja, Vol. 27-28, pp. 139-157. Porvoo and Helsinki: Werner Söderström.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1i,

Sociological Background

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

533 The folklore of the Votes is very sparse, and the major portion of it has been taken over from their neighbors. They seem to remember only their old wedding songs which no longer are in use at weddings, for, since the beginning of this century Russian songs have replaced them. Often these songs are mere fragments of older forgotten songs.

538 The Votic folk tale repertoire is predominantly Russian. There are several animal tales, tales of soldiers, priests, gypsies, robbers, Stupid Van'ka, an old man and old woman, and others.

SOURCES

//3 Alava, V.

1908. Vatjalaisia häätapoja, häälauluja ja - itkuja. [Votic Wedding Customs, Wedding Songs and Dirges.] Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Pp. 3, 43-56.

Kettunen, Lauri, and Lauri Posti

1932. Näytteitä vatjan kielestä. [Texts of the Votic Language.] Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Vol. 63, pp. 1-194. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Salminen, Väinö

1928. Vatjalaiset runot [The Votic Runes] pp. 673-780. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,

Sociological Background

EDUCATION

871 The Votes, instead of having their national schools, have sent their children to the Russian schools. Tsvetkov writes (p. 42-43):
186 177 "...the foundation of Russian schools among the Votes did not cause any feeling of enmity among them. The Votic people rather welcomed them, feeling in their isolated situation that it would be easier for them to get acquainted with the mysticism of the Greek Orthodox religion and to understand better their big neighbor....The school penetrated step by step among the people."

871 The Bolsheviks, after coming to power, established in the 1920's special schools for the nationalities. However, no schools for the Votes were founded, probably because of their small number.

SOURCES

113 Tsvetkov, Dim.

1925. Vadjalased. [The Votes.] Eesti Keel, Vol. 4, pp. 42-43. Tartu: Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts.

Annex "A" Subparagraph 1k,

Sociological Background

RELIGION

771 795 The Votes are Greek Orthodox, just like the Russians and their close relatives, the Ingrians. Until the revolution of 1917, they stuck faithfully to their religious customs. But under the Bolshevist rule, only the older generation has continued the old religious practices, whereas the youth has become indifferent to the religion.

[186] The devotion to Greek Orthodoxy has brought the Votes nearer to the Russians and to the Ingrians, at the same time alienating them from the Finns, who are Lutherans. One indication of this may be seen in the fact that, at least during the czarist rule, the Votes normally did not marry Finns, but they would intermarry with the Russians and the Ingrians.

771 798 The Votes, although being ardent Orthodox, have, nevertheless not gotten completely rid of their ancient heathenism. We know very little of the Votes' ancient religion, and all we know refers to the worship of holy trees and springs. There were up to most recent times some trees or groves in Votic villages which were considered sacred. One such grove, surrounded by a high fence, was to be found in Baabina village. Although it was known by the name "Elijah's Birch," actually mainly aspens grew there. Each year on Elijah's Day the village people used to go to the grove to celebrate there a festival. The people remember that in older times an ox was sacrificed

796

796 in the grove. At the beginning of this century, however, they took there only bread and butter on a plate and candles for worshiping God. At the grove they set up tables and ate there. After eating they sat on the bench in a line and drank beer which was made by a farmer especially for all of them to drink. In a couple of hours, the people from other villages would join them in drinking. Alava, who has described this festival, compares it with the so-called vakkove-festival of the Ingrians.

778 In olden times the Votes also worshipped holy springs. One of them was called "Elijah's Spring." The water of this spring was clear and cool and it was considered to possess great power. At the spring there grew a high oak [796] tree which was also regarded as sacred. On Elijah's Day at midsummer the people used to organize a fair, called "Elijah's Fair," near this spring.

776 Elijah, who plays such an important role in Votes' ancient religion, seems to be their national saint. There are some other traces of the Elijah's cult preserved among the Votes. In Pummala, for instance, the bones of the ram, who was slaughtered for Elijah's Day, were taken to two crosses which were just beyond the village and were called "Elijah's Cross."

771 The above remarks refer to former times. What about the situation among the Votes nowadays? Prof. Ränk, who in 1942-43 studied the Votes, found the Greek Orthodoxy and the ancient paganism still existing side by side. It should be mentioned that at this time the Votes were occupied by the Germans who did not impede their religious practices, but rather encourag-
778 ed them. Therefore the icons, which were re-

778 moved and hidden during the Bolshevist rule, had been set up again in the rear corner of the room, called "God's corner" (jumalnurkka). But on the stands of the icons there were also several other things which had no direct bearing on the Church belief. Such were, for instance, the twigs of willow trees which has been brought in at Palm Sunday and which were used to drive the herd out to the pasture on St. [755] George's Day. In addition, there were various magic herbs which were used for making smoke to cure sicknesses, a piece of artus bread which was baked for Easter, a holiday egg, etc. Before the introduction of the kolkhoz system, the people used to keep in "God's corner" also the first and last sheaf of rye cut in the field.

789 The Votes seem to have preserved up to the present day some traits of the belief in the special power of the trees. For Whitsuntide green birches were put in "God's corner," around the house and especially in front of the windows. These birches were used, as Prof. Rãnk thinks, not only for decoration, but probably also for scaring off the bad spirits who could be active at this time. The juniper was considered to have a special magic power. The people called the juniper "cross-tree," since on each juniper berry there is the sign of a cross; for this reason the juniper was believed to have the power to ward off any kind of evil. According to old customs, the farmer on St. George's Day pulled a juniper together with its roots, out of the earth and hung it in the attic of his house. This juniper protected the house against all evil, especially against lightning. The belief in the protective power of the juniper seems to be still alive among the people, since Prof. Rãnk found in a loft a big juniper branch stuck between the roof beams.

771
789 Religion of the Krevins. On the religion of the Krevins, who died out in the middle of the nineteenth century in Latvia, we have very little information. According to Sjögren, they were very superstitious. On Epiphany they drew crosses on the doors, furniture, etc., and in former times they were said to have gone to church in sleighs furnished with signs of the cross.

SOURCES

//3 Alava, Vihtori

1901. "Iliää kahči." ["Elijah's Birch."] Virittäjä, pp. 81-83.

Manninen, I.

1929. Vatjalaiset aja inkeroiset. [The Votes and Ingrians.] Suomensukuiset kansat [The Finno-Ugric Peoples], p. 99. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Rănk, Gustav

1948. Moned tähelepanekud vadja loikusriitusest. [Some Observations on the Harvest Rites by the Votes.] Virittäjä, pp. 147-150.

1947-48. Vatjalainen koti. [The Votic House.] Kalevalaseuran Vuosikirja, Vol. 27-28, pp. 153, 155-157.

Tsvetkov, Dim.

1925. Vadjalased. [The Votes.] Eesti Keel, Vol. IV, pp. 39-44.

Wichmann, Yrjö

1928. Vatjalaiset. [The Votes.] In A. Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius, and Yrjö Wichmann, ed., Suomen Suku [The Finno-Ugric Family], Vol. 2, pp. 113-114. Helsinki: Otava.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,

Sociological Background

HEALTH AND SANITATION

262 One of the old Votic foods was mäkchä or mähjä 'dish made of rye meal and malt.'

For weddings three wedding breads (kursi) of different sizes were baked and were placed on top each other on the table, the biggest at the bottom and the smaller ones above it. Before baking, decorations were pressed on them with whiskey glasses.

744 The hygienic conditions of the Votes were reported to be "quite satisfactory" in czarist times.

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

SOURCES

113 Manninen, I.

1929. Vatjalaiset ja inkeroiset. [The Votes and Ingrians.] Suomensukuiset kansat [The Finno-Ugric Peoples], p. 96. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Tsvetkov, Dim.

1925. Vadjalased. [The Votes.] Eest Keel, Vol. 4, p. 40. Tartu: Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,

Economic Background

AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL

463 The main means of livelihood of the Votes is small-scale farming and cattle raising. In czarist times men worked often in the winter as cab drivers in Petersburg and sometimes as factory workers also. Several unmarried women of varying ages served there as maids.

[227] The Votes who live near water engage in fishing. Among other fishing equipment they used to fish with spears.

SOURCES

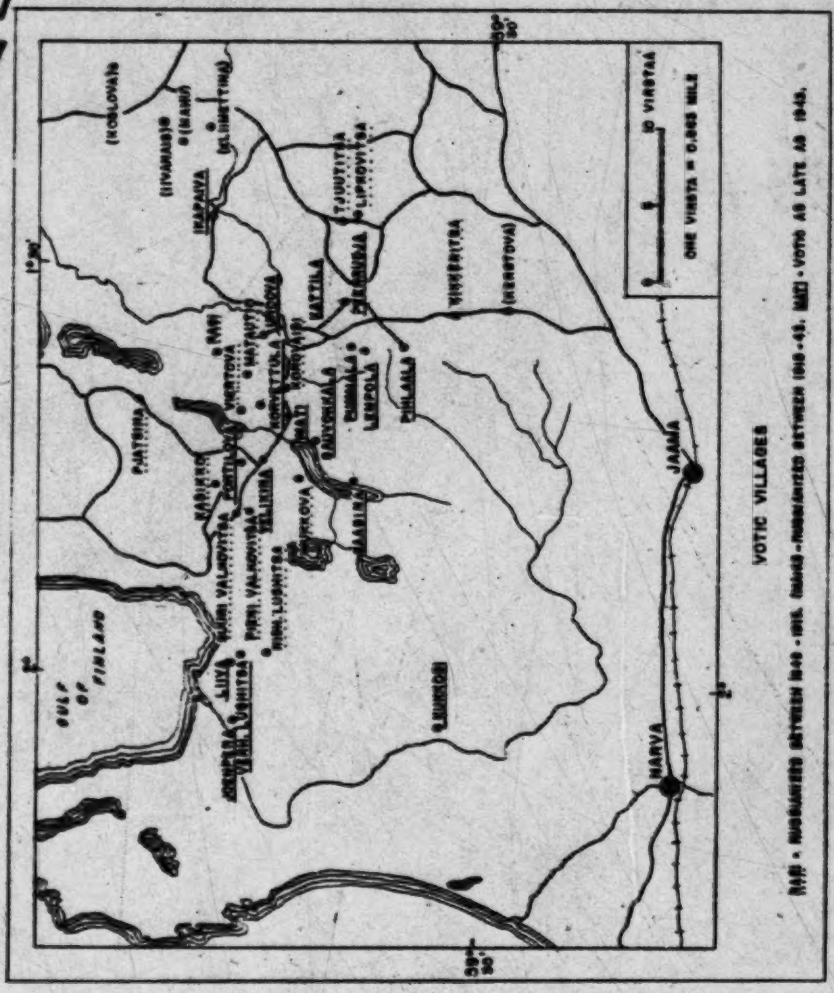
113 Manninen, I.

1929. Vatjalaiset ja inkeroiset. [The Votes and Ingrians.] Suomensukuiset kansat [The Finno-Ugric Peoples], p. 96. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Wichmann, Yrjö.

1928. Vatjalaiset. [The Votes.] In A. Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius, and Yrjö Wichmann, ed., Suomen suku [The Finno-Ugric Family], Vol. 2, p. 114. Helsinki: Otava.

361
197


VOTIC VILLAGES
ONE VIERSTA = 0.663 MILE
10 VIERSTAS
NARVA
JAAMA
LUGA
PSKOV
PSKOVSKOYE
PEIPUS
LAMMJÄRV